y . That no amendment of the Federal Constitution sha

Third(y). That no amendment of the Federal Constitution shall ever be adopted by which any of the rights therein secured to the slaveholder shall be affected in any way; and that if any such amendment shall ever be adopted, it shall be type facts a dissipation of the union of States, thereby remanding each State to its crimial sovereignty as an independent nation.

If the Northern people—with the lights which this attitude of the Southern people will afford them—shall determine by popular vote, to meet us in Convention, and adopt the amendment proposed—it will be all that the South can desire, and we will, in such case, have saved the Government from disruption.

If they shall refuse to meet us in convention, and allow so reasonable an adjustment—the bare proposi-

allow so reasonable an adjustment—the bare proposi-tion for settlement, upon terms so fair, will unite the Southern people, and turn the moral sense of mankind in our favor. In the meantime, while this appeal to our Northern brethren is being settled by them, the political battle ground will have time (by this diversion)

am free to say, that in my opinion the sof the South should be absolved from the

of the South should be absolved from the ligations of allegiance to that Government vever it shall become manifest it cannot or woul protect them. So, likewise would it be, if the ernment was about to pass into the hands of a which the South had good reason to believe wou

it as an engine of oppression—an instrumentality for the destruction of their rights. But yet I would make

the destruction of their rights. But yet I would make one more effort to turn from my country the bitter cup. Though the South may, in moral right, resume her sovereignty as the means of her safety, yet her honor does not require her to do so yet. If the Southern States will only arm and prepare for maintaining their rights, in the Union, there is no necessity for her precipitate withdrawal from it. Far otherwise would it be, if under the influence of the Republican party, the powers of the Federal Government had already been turned against us. Then, honor, duty and interest would alike demand action of a different character from that now proposed.

would alike demand action of a dinerent character from that now proposed.

War may come of these aggressions of the Republican party. Let us not provoke it; but if come it must, let us be united and ready, and, whether in or out of the Union, we have nothing to fear.

Arrest this mad crusade of the Republican party against the South, and the South would remain loyal to the Government of the Union; but I submit to the

to the Government of the Union; but I submit to the judgment of all intelligent men, whether bitter denunciations of the Southern people as traitors is calculated to effect this result.

While the border Slave States may not be willing to surrender the Union—the citadel of their confederated rights—upon the first successful assault of the enemy, yet let it not be hence inferred that they do not know the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confederated that they do not know the confederated the confede

yet let it not be hence inferred that they do not know and do not mean to maintain their rights. If nothing short of a surrender of those rights will appease the de-moniac spirit of the Republican party, when that fact is made manifest, Tennesee will join her Southern sis-ters, and maintain them, if need be, at the cannon's mouth, and at the door of the National Capitol.

I do not protocos action in the means the second

I do not propose action in the present emergency, by any party. The time is past for indulging partisan

feeling. The Patriot should love his country more than party—and when she is "sore pressed"—whether by foreign or domestic enemy—he should stifle the voice of party, and rise to the duty of vindicating her rights and henor, ne matter at what personal sacrifice. Our Southern sisters may propose to act too hastily, and may, in redress of present grievances, and to avert threatened danger—so farther than we think now necessary; but that they are right in their determination to resist the aggressions of the Republican party, cannot be ouestioned.

to resist the aggressions of the Republican party, cannot be questioned.

We may differ with them as to the action now called for; but if the border Slave States fold their arms as indigenant spectators of the struggle, and leave the impression on the minds of our Southern sisters that we are not free from Abolition sympathies, and are centent to see the rupture of the ties that unite our fate and theirs, and that we voluntarily choose to be the "tail end" of an Abolition Confederacy, and to hold our rights at the will and mercy of our enemies—if we allow ourselves to occupy a position so false to them and our honor and interest—the history of the Union of these States will be written in the blood of the bravest and best men of the South. But if we unite with our

Is to have a blue ground, and on its face the representation of a cotton-plant. The lower portion of the stock bears open balls, the middle half open, and the upper green balls. Interspersed among the branches of the plant are the cotton blooms, white and red as in nature. At the foot of the stalk his a representation of a rattle-nake with head erect, and fifteen rattles. The motto is Notice tangers. On the reverse of the banner is the map of the Sate, with the word "Alabama" across it. All half to the flag of Alabama.

The METROPOLIS OF GEORGIA.

THE METROPOLIS OF GEORGIA.

The Hon. Alfred Huger of Charleston having ited Savannab, Ga., in some official capacity, writes the following bandsome note to the Mayor and Coun cil of the latter city:

GENTLEMEN: Before we left the cars which brough

CENTLEMEN: Defore we left the cars which brough
as back to our homes and our kindred, a meeting wa
convened by those who had so lately been your guests
and it is under their instruction that I now ask permis
sion to address you. We had been taught before, the
we were citizens of the same Republic. We shall fee
bereafter that we are laborers in the same vineyard
and brethern of the same Republic. and brethren of the same family. It is no cult for us to comprehend that whatever prosperi awaits our Emplie State, is but additional strengt and additional security transferred to the Palmets for we have already felt that, possessing, as you de the elegances and refinements of general life, you chief decire is to show that hospitality and kindine and brotherly love are the natural results of a your attainments. We shall never forget our receition, our entertainment, or our departure, and believe me, Mr. Mayor, and gentlemen, there is nothin ventured, when I say that the only doubt in our mind is, whether most to appreciate the graceful an itiendly manner with which we have been welcome to the metroj ohs of Georgia! or the more to admire the metroj ohs of Georgia! friendly manner with which we have been welcomed to the metro; ohs of ticoria! or the more to admire the advantages and improvements of your beautiful city! Magnificent buildings, that bespeak the character of their inhalitants! Edironds that would deloner to any nation on the glove! Steamers that bring distant places almost hourly to your doors—luxuites and comforts that accrue from wealth, chastened by good taste! Monuments to the illustrious dead, that proclaim a grateful sense of hereis service, bravely rendered, and most worthilly conferred!

we shall cherish he our hearts an affectionate remembrance of those from whom so much may be learned.

I beg you, Mr. Mayor, and gentlemen, to accept the securance of highest respect and regard.

With which I remain your ob't servant,

ALPIKED HUGER, Chairman, &c.

A CONVOCATION OF SHADES.

"There is no retreat," says The Sumter Dispatch " but in submission, and submission now is ruin and dishonor. While we write this article, the colonia flag, with its crescent and lone star, is floating gavly at our office door; and the sentiments and resolver which that flag indicates lie deep within our bosom and pant for utterance and action. Oh, shades of Mc Duffie, and Hamilton, and Hayne, and Calhoun! Oh. shades of the mighty; this is the day ye long desired

SOUTHERN STUDENTS AT HOME. Extract of a letter to The Charleston Courier, dated

to sec-the day of deliverance and of jubilee!

Oxford, Ga., Nov. 13, 1860:

"Great excitement prevails here. Everybody seems to be for secession, judging from the blue cockades which all, both old and young, wear. The college boys at Oxford all wear cockaoes, and are universally for disunion. Some of the young men drill each otne every day. Newton County will go for disunion. Bell Douglas, and Breckinridge men combine, and boldl advocate it. Go on, Mr. Editor, and advocate th cause of the South, and do all you can to 'fire the Southern heart and precipitate Georgia into a revolu-

A PIOUS WISH.

A Charleston paper says it has been permitted t make the following extract from a letter recently re-

make the following extract from a letter recently received by a gentleman of that city:

"Philadelphia, Nov. 13, 1869.

"There has not been such an excitement here, I suppose, since the days of the Revolution, as is existing at the present time—money tight, stocks down, banks shut down on depositors, &c. Would to God it were in my power, I would cause a greater consternation here than now exists. I would turn in upon the Northern devils 40,000,000 of the worst slaves that the world ever produced, and devastate the world ever produced. world ever produced, and devastate the whole North RPORTS OF CHILDHOOD.

The Charleston Mercury says:

"The Palmette Troop is the name of a new military organization composed of young lads from fourteen to eighteen years of age. Their uniform is white jacket and pants, red rosette and steel button, belt and sword"

THE LADIES SNUBBED,

The Committee in charge of a recent meeting is Charleston were compelled to publish the following

Charleston were compened to publish the following card "to the Ladies of Carolina":

"We beg to say that none more highly value the cheering presence of the Patriotic Ladies of our State but we feel reluctantly compelled to forego that very great gratification, on the occasion of the meeting to hight. It is no holiday occasion, and the duties which we of the sterner sex are called on to perform, in the present crisis of our country's history renders it imperstive that every man was can, shall be present to see and to hear, and to take his part in what is to be done. The Hall will not be able to concause their cheering sniles and approval, because they cannot be present at our public demonstrations."

DOUGLAS ON THE PRESENT CRISIS. Mr. Douglas, laving received from some of the citizens of New-Orleans an invitation to address them,

Mr. Douglas, laving received from some of the citizens of New-Orleans an invitation to address them, replied by the following letter:—

Gentlemen: Your request to address the citizen of New-Orleans "on the present condition of the affairs of our country," has just been placed in my hands. An lavitation so numerously signed by the most eminent business nen of this great commercial city implies a compliment which I only appreciate, and an exceedingly relactant to decline.

These are not the times for patriotic men to affect incidenence, or to degenerate into despondency, or to rush madly into violent and extreme measures. Just in proportion as our common country is environed with peril it becomes the imperative dany of every patriot in the hand to increase his citarts and exert his utmost powers and energies to rescue the Republic from the disasters which threaten its integrity.

No man in America regrets the election of Mr. Lincoln more than I do; none made more streamons exertions to defeat him; none differ with him more radically and irreconcilably upon all the great issues involved in the contest. No man living is prepared to resist, by all the legitimate means sanctioned by the Constitution and laws of our country, the aggressive policy which he and his party are understood to represent. But while I say this, I am bound, as a good citizen and law-atolaing man, to declare my conscientious conviction that the mere election of any man to the Presidency by the American people, in accordance with the Constitution and laws, does not of itself furnish any just cause or reasonable ground for dissolving the Federal Union.

It is not pretended, so far as I am informed, that any provision of the Constitutional rights of any State or citizen. Nonling has yet occurred to release any citizen from his oath of fidelity to the Constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of every State and of every citizen. But while it is concoded that no act has yet been once which impairs the right or endangers the peace an the Federal Government, and thereby will endanger the peace and satety of the slaveholding States. Is this apprehension well connect? Do the results of the recent election justify this apprehension? The President can do nothing but what the law authorizes. His daty is to see the laws faithfully executed. If he fails to perform this duty he will seen fine times of a prisoner before the High Court of impeachment. Fortunately that triumal is so constituted as to command the condence of the people of the entire South, as well as of the conservative men of the North. We have this security that the existing laws will be faithfully executed. I have yet to learn that the people of the South complain of the acts of Congress sow on the statute book, upon the subject of Shavery, as applicable to the States or Territorice, or to the Instrict of Columbia. These haws were enacted mainly, if not entirely, by the joint action of the conservative members of the North and South, in opposition to the Abolitionists and Free-Soilers, and have been acquiesced in by the Southern people as well as by their Sonators and Representatives, under the present and preceding Administrations of the Federal Government. Consequently, it is fair to presume that the South, so far from demanding the repeal of the existing laws upon the subject of Slavery as essential to her satety and equality in the Union, will insist upon their being retained to not ever any additional legislation by Congress on this subject, for the reason that the Southern Senators and Representatives have not introduced and advocated

abject, for the reason that the Southern Senators at depresentatives have not introduced and advocate my change in the existing I gi bation upon the Slaver needlon under the present Administration, and that of

Mr. Pierce, when the Abelitionists and Free-Soilers were in the minority in both Houses of Congress.

Assuming, therefore, that the Southern people and their Senators and representatives deem their rights and institutions entirely safe under the Constitution and laws as they now stand, and only desire to be let alone, without any interference by Congress with

alone, without any interference by Congress with their domestic concerns, the question arises whether Mr. Lincoln and his party will have the power, even if they have the disposition, to disturb or impair the rights and institutions of the South, either in the States or the territories, or in the District of Columbia? They certainly cannot do it under the existing laws. Will they have the power to repeal or change these laws, or to enact others? It is well known that they will be in a minority in both honses of Congress, with the Supreme Court against them. In the Northern States, there have been elected already a sufficient number of Democratic members of Congress, bold and true national men, pledged to the Cincinnati Platform and the doctrine of non-intervention by Congress with the tional men, pledged to the Cincinnati Platform and the dectrine of non-intervention by Congress with the question of Slavery in the States and Territories, and the District of Columbia, who, added to the Southern representatives, will give at least twenty majority against Mr. Lincoln and his party on all these questions. In the Senate there is also a decided and reliable majority. Hence, no bill can pass either house of Congress impairing or disturbing the rights or institutions of the Southern people in any manner whatever, UNIXSS a portion of the Southern Senators and representatives absent themselves so as to give an abolition majority in consequence of their absence.

political battle ground will have been transferred to the North, and the South will have time (by this diversion) to consolidate her strength and prepare for whatever may come. If thus united—armed and ready, we should be unable to agree with the North,—we will separate without bloodshed. If not, however, we would present a front of nine millions of freemen, united and armed, with four millions of slaves—to feed and clothe them, and if need be to fight also. Such a people never were and never will be subjugated.

It is believed by many Southern men, that the great body of the Northern people are patriotic and right-mixeded toward their Government; but that they have been deceived and misled by corrupt and designing demagognes. That when they see the South united, armed, and determined—with all commercial intercourse cut off—that they will be undeceived—that they will rise in their strength, and, at the ballot-box, crush the Republican party—meet us in convention, agree to the pretection demanded, and thus end the national quarrel; and that we may remain a united people, until we attain is national greatness never before known in the history of our race.

If it should be objected, that while this effort at adjustment is being made, the Government will have passed into the hands of the Republican party, and that its power may be turned against us, I reply that that can never be done, until the Executive, Legislative and Judicial departments of the Government are all under the control of that party. That neither Mr. Lincoln nor his party can do an act which can affect the rights of one of the Slave States without equally affecting those of all—that they can affect neither without violating the Constitution as it exists—that if they dared to lay violent hands upon that instrument, it would be of one of the Slave States without equally affecting those of all—that they can affect neither without violating the Constitution as it exists—that if they dared to lay violent hands upon that instrument, it would be an act of usur-pation, which would rouse the whole South to immediate action and resistance—that in resisting revolution, thus forced upon us, the South would be united—and "armed with the right," and being prepared for whatever may come, we could safely trust our cause to the great Arbiter of battles.

That the States of the South have just cause for war against the States of the North, in the repeated efforts of the latter to turn the power of the common Government from its rightful duty of protection—to aggressions upon our rights—and in their refusal to carry into effect the provision of the Constitution requiring the rendition of fugitives from labor, cannot be questioned. But it should be remembered that these wrongs have been perpetrated by the States of the North—not by the Federal Government—and at a time when that Government was in the hands of the friends of the Constitution and of the Union. It is true that it was the duty of the Federal Government to correct these abuses and to protect the South. If it was powerless for protection in the hands of the friends of the Union, I agree that there is no hope of protection when it has passed into the hands of the enemies of the Union and of the South; and I am free to say, that in my opinion the States of the South should be absolved from the ob-

Congress impuiring or disturbing the rights or institutions of the Southern people in any manner whatever, UNESS a portion of the Southern Senators and representatives absent themselves so as to give an abolition majority in consequence of their absence.

In a manority in both houses of Congress, with the Supreme Court to expound the laws and restrain all illegal and unconstitutional acts, the President will be utterly powerless for evil, if he should have the disposition to do wrong. Even in the distribution of his patronage he would be dependent upon the Senate for the confirmation of his nominees to office, so that he cannot appoint a bad man to office without the consent of these in whom the South confides. A partisan President, thus tied hand and foot, powerless for good or evil without the consent and support of his political opponents, should be the object of pity and commiseration rather than of fear and apprenension, by a brave and chivalrous people. What good or harm can he do to anybody, except to humble the pride and wound the sensitilities of a large portion of the American people by occupying the chair once filled by Wushington, Jefferson, Miadison, and Jackson? Does this fact furnish sufficient cause for destroying the best government of which the history of the world gives an example? Four years will soon pass away, when the ballot-box will furnish a peaceful, legal, and constitutional remedy for all the evils and grievances with which the country may be afflicted.

If, in the mean time, any act shall be perpetrated which shall violate or impair the rights of any citizen or State, or shall endanger the peace and safety of any portion of our people, tor which the Constitution and laws shall fail to provide adequate and efficient remedies, the time will then have arrived for those who think the Constitution has been diaregarded and the Federal power perverted to purposes inconsistent with heir safety, henor and equality, to consult and deliberate upon the nature, extent and mode of redress.

I do opinion, presents no just cause, no reasonable excuse Having discussed all the questions at is

Having discussed all the questions at issue freely and elaborately in my addresses to the people during he recent canvass, I do not perceive that any patriotic objects can be advanced by any further public discussions on my part prior to resuming my seat in the Setate. That the passions and animocities engendered by recent contests may soon give place to reason and patriotism; that calm and wise counsels may prevail, and fraternal feeling be restored; that the Constitution may be preserved inviolate, and the Union maintened forever, is the grident hope and fervent prayer ton hay be price and fervent prayer of your friend and fellow-citizen. S. A. Douglas.

New-Orleans, Nov. 13, 1886.

GENERAL PILLOW'S VIEWS. DISRUPTION-REMEDY PROPOSED.

PANGERS OF DISRUPTION—REMEDY PROPOSED.

Frew The Nathwille Patriet.

MAURY COUNTY, Tenn., Nov. 12, 1860.

In the editorial of Saturday's Patriot, you have announced the startling intelligence that "a sectional party, bound together by a common opposition to the constitutional rights of the South, has succeeded in grasping the power of the Executive branch of the Government. The occurrence of such an event forebodes future evil. It has the appearance of the cloud charged with the hurricane. Nothing but the utmost prucence, wisdom and forbearance can save us now."

This announcement of the election of any Executive Chief Magistrate, by a vote exclusively sectional, and by a party resolved to strike down the institution of Slavery as it exists in fifteen States of the Union, under the guarantees of the Constitution, sounds to me shavery as it exists in inteen states of the Union, the der the guarantees of the Constitution, sounds to me like the "death knell of the Union." While I agree that there is not, in the manner of Mr. Lincoln's elec-tion, any violation of the letter of the Constitution, was designed by the obvious sprit of the Constitution, is upset. In other words, the facts impaired by your is upset. In other words, the facts impaired by your momentous editorial, is the announcement of a revolu-tion in the Government, by which its forms are used to break down its spirit, and its powers for protection are to be turned to the destruction of the rights of one-lalt the Union, as guaranteed by the Constitution. Under such circumstances, it becomes a momentous question for the consideration of the Southern people, what can be done to preserve the Union of the States, and at the same time avert the perils with which our

rights are threatened.

You suggest no remedy. "Your conservatism" has carried Tennessee, but it has not averted the danger from the country. Can we trust to the present guarantees of the Constitution under the Republican party, when the very existence of any such guarantees is denied by that party? To do so, is to let the Republicans.

soup a état be carried out.

Shall we then, by non-action, surrender our slave property to the demands of our Republican masters?

He who would not resist such tyramy, deserves himself to be ensiaved.

If not prepared to surrender our rights, shall we withdraw from the Union as a remedy for impending

withdraw from the Union as a remedy for impending danger? To do so, does not become fromen—the sons of the sires of the Revolutionary war.

But, independently of this, would we thereby avert the danger which threatens our rights! Rather would we not augment it, and precipitate the crisis, in advance of the public opinion of the South, and in advance of the preparation called for by so momentous a step. What, then, shall we do? Can we maintain our rights in the Union? and how! I answer, we can if we will, and by the united and determined action of the Southern people.

REMEDY.

Let the Governors of all the Southern States convene their Legislatures, to consider the emergency of the

their Legislatures, to consider the emergency of the crisis. Let these Legislatures immediately appoint Commissioners to confer with like Commissioners, to be appointed by the other States. Let these Commissioners agree and recommend back to their respective Legislatures the passage of laws as follows, viz:

sioners agree and recommend back to their respective Legislatures the passage of laws as follows, viz:

First. A Revenue Law—By the provisions of which all goods manufactured in the Northern States, and all goods imported through Northern ports, shall be taxed for State purposes, and to the points of probabilition.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in vol. 5 of Howards, and to the points of probabilition.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in vol. 5 of Howards, Reports, puge 505 and on, settled that the States have this power. Let three laws of the Southern States at and unrepeated as long as any Northern State raise, organize, arm and thoroughly drill, ten, twenty or fifty thousand volunteers, and provide an sumple supply of arms and munities of war of every tind. This the States size have the Constitutional right to do.

Third: Let the Nouthern States all demand of the Northern State all demand of the Northern National Convention, for the reconsideration of the question involved in the present issue between the North and the South Let this demand embrace an amendment of the Foderal Constitution, by which it shall be declared.

Fourth: That no issue that ever be passed by Congress in any way stilleting the rights of property in slaves as it now exists in the Southern States of the Indied States, except by concurrent vote of the entire Strate.

Secondly: That the concurson Territories of the United States now held or hereafter to be apostred—shall be open to estimate by the citizens of all the States—that their property of every every every every every of the endougen of the every of every every

and our honor and interest—the listory of the Union of these States will be written in the blood of the bravest and best men of the South. But if we unite with our Southern sister States (who are determined on present action), to the cooperation proposed for our own common safety and defense, and as a means of saving the Government from disruption, they will not, surely, rashly fly from the Union.

Having thus, Messrs, Editors, feebly attempted to perform my duty as a private citizen of this Government—so greatly blessed of God in its past history—all I can do is to invoke the cooperation of all good men, believing that we may save the Government from disruption, and avert the horors of civil-war, by prompt action in the right direction. Though the measures proposed may seem sovere, yet they are less to be deprecated than disruption, and are all consistent with the provisions of the compact of Union, and fully justified as peace measures—by the impending dangers to the Government of the Union, and the linerties and rights of the South. Will you, Sirs, respond? THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune. Siz: Will you permit a Southerner, resident amids ou, who owns and occupies real property in this city, who has not the interest of a dollar attaching him

> columns, a few words to the men of the North upor the subject indicated at the head of this communication? Yes, a Southern Confederacy is in process of forma tion. The angry and turbid elements from which it is to issue are already astir. They are rapidly assuming portentous shape and form. Every mail from the South is fraught with proof of this beyond the possibility of doubt. But a few days ago it was " a little cloud, like a man's hand"; now "the heaven is black with cloud and wind." He must be blind who does not see this; he must be a madman who does not shudder

any soil but that of New-York, to say, through your

and feel his heart to sink within him, in contemplation of the probable result.

Men of the North, it is not yet too late. It rests with you to dissipate this storm which yourselves have evoked, by words and acts promptly offered, of patriotic conciliation, and manly recantation. Nothing else, we sorrowfully but firmly believe, can saxo us and yourselves from the great calamity of a permanent disruption of our present glorious Confederacy. Cast your eyes over the Slave States of the South, What

dangerous host-with some few honest, sincere, purely patriotic, justly indigrant, but overbeated and rash Southrone, are traversing the country in all dir aggravating the popular feeling, adding fuel and pouring oil, from the restrum and through the press, upon the flame that has been kindled. One generous and chivalrie, but deluded and too impulsive Star eve of separate secession. Two or three other States, almost ready for like precipitate action, are girding their loins just in the rear of South Carolina. These men, and these States, men of the North, do not fairly represent the Southern mind. They do not yet; but they soon will. Revolutionary feeling thus provoked and fostered, among such a people, and for such a good cause, catches surely and with electric rapidity from man to man. It will soon sway wildly, flercely, irrepressibly, the masses of the South. The writer knows well the people of whom he speaks. He has watched in another country, among a people offering many striking points of a resemblance to the population of our Southern States, the progress of a great Revolution from its beginning to its end; with his hand daily upon the popular pulse, and on the popular heart and be tells you, men of the North, seriously, sadly, earnestly, if you wish to prevent disastrous revolution here and now, you must offer promptly the olive branch to the people whose interests you have disregarded, whose tights you have vi.lated. Unless this be done, all is lost! The revolution at the South will soon be organized, irrepressible and irresistible. The wavering will become resolute: the doubtful will become assured; the timid will become bold; the hopeful will despair; and every Southern patriot will sorrowfully and sternly accept the conviction that Secession is the rightful and only remedy. Men of the North, if this be not done, put your ear to the ground in three mouths from this date, and you will hear the measured tramp, and soon after you will see the steady front of the litten Slave States advancing in one body to proclaim the dissolution of this Confederacy; to tell you that your injustice and aggressions have made this Union intolerable to them; that they have come to tear the Constitution which you have trampled upon, to shroud in black the glorious pages of our past history, to resign the proud career as a nation that Providence is offering us, and close forever the record of American greatness. They will have come to tell you that lenceforth they hold you as they hold the rest of mankind, "enemics in war; in peace friends."

Some of you aver and affect to believe, that the nd he tells you, men of the North, seriously, sadly

forth they hold you as they hold the rest of mankind, "enemies in war; in peace friends."

Some of you aver and affect to believe, that the threat of Disunion now swelling from the South, is but noisy bluster. And silly women tell us over their tea, that we dare not secode—that the North will oerre us to submission. You will see if we dare. Others of your orators kindly tell us in conciliatory, patronbing tone, to "fear nothing"—that "the South will not be invaded"—that we "shall not be consed." Men of the North, we have no dustant fears ers of your orators kindly tell us in conciliatory, patronning tone, to "fear nothing"—that "the South will not be invaded"—that we "shall not be coerced." Men of the North, we have no dastard fears in view of this crisis. You know that we have not, and it is dastardly in you to attribute them to us. We do not apprehend your invasion of our territory. We know you will not attempt coercion. Yet we do fear. There is a fear we are not ashamed to avow, that heavily and sorely oppresses us at this moment—that causes us, as it causes all true patriots of the North, to shudder and recoil with horror from the abyas before us. We know that the kell which proclaims Dismion will be the signal for the instant departure of the glory, influence and power of the American mame and nation. The cloud will depart from off our tabernacle. We lose from that moment our proud stand among the foremost nations of the earth—soon to be the foremost—and sink to the level of third and fourthrate nations—the contempt of all that have feared us—the derision of the world that has respreted us! And, oh, what despair will strike the great panting heart of humanity that for the last forty years, at sight of the American Republic has been beating with hope and confidence? How will the swollen, buoyant hoart of the patriot, everywhere, collapse and taint! and his strong arm, ready to strike, everywhere fall nerveless at the intelligence of the angry disruption of our great Confederacy! And well may be stand aghast; for the knell of man's progress! After that, humanity has nothing to do but fold its arms in despair, and accept its destiny in the inevitable changes of that failal cycle—Despotism. This is the fear, men of the North, which is making to quake the hearts of patriots at the South, which is making to quake the hearts of patriots at the South, which is making to quake the hearts of patriots, and Hamilton, and Adams, the heroes and sages of former times, whose wisdom and valor won for us those inestimable blessings which are now in such ext times, whose wisdom and valor won for us those inestimable blessings which are now in such extreme peril, could become incarnate and revisit the scenes of their suffering and glory, they would sweat in their patriotic agony as it were great drops of blood falling down to to the ground, in view of the catastrophe which seems so near at hand! It is then no dastard fear of personal consequences that causes thousands of Southern patriots still to hold back, and refuse their support to the impatient valor and hasty counsel of the men—yesterday a few, many to-day, but who, to-morrow, will number by hundreds of thousands—demanding the separation of these States. We cling to the glorious Past which we have achieved together, and we hope, men of the North, that you will refuse, at this late, almost last moment, to sacrifice to the Demon of Discord the glorious Future which a favoring Providence has placed within our grasp—a grander and more splendid national career than any that the history of the world records.

But, Heaven's will be done! If you will persist, men of the North, in making this deplorable sacrifice of national glory, and human good, upon the shrine of the false Moloch, whose temple you have erected "right against the temple of God," preferring to the

fice of national glory, and human good, upon the shrine of the false Mcloch, whose temple you have crected "right against the temple of God," preferring to the worship of true liberty that of its disgusting and horrible counterfeit—so be it! Pass you through the fire to this horrid king—and make your sons to pass! As for us and our house we will serve the Lord.

But there are thousands at the North, and many even at the South, who teil as that the election of Mr. Liacoln, being a perfectly legal and constitutional act, should not, carnot, must not be the cause nor tae pretext of revolution by secession. "Wait," they say, "till it is reen what the Precident elect will do. Perhaps he will be conservative in his administration of the Government. Perhaps he will not wish to violate Southern rights. Perhaps he cannot if he would. Be calm, be prudent. Secession is a momentous act, involving the gravest responsibility. It will be stapendous, covering yourselves, the whole country, the numan race; us and posterity; covering Now and the Future. Scious men should deal seriously with so serious a subject. Wait and see. Resort not to this last remedy of secession till some flagrant violation of the Constitution shall occur which will justify and make it necessary." Men of the North, you who preach this doctrine in the present emergency, and they of the South who concur with you, are yourselves not satisfied with it. It is in fact merely specious, and leads to dangerons delusion. You feel that the argument is rotten samewhere, though you may not have been able to put your finger exactly upon the spot. Derrecating distuion, as well you may—fearing and been able to put your finger exactly upon the spot. Decreating cisuation, as well you may—fearing and feeling that the hour is now come, you would fain put it off. You are of those who, in former revolutionary times, cried, "Peace! Peace! when there was no

I will tell you, men of the North, why we of the I will tell you, men of the North, why we of the South cannot, should not, will not stop the hall of Revolution that is now in motion, unless you promptly offer us the olive-branch, and give us the security that is so much needed, for your future faithful observance of the Compromises or the Constitution, and of our constitutional rights. I will tell you why the South conciders, and may well consider the election of Mr. Lincoln, legal and constitutional though it be, good and sufficient avowable cause for Southern secession.

That election is a grand, prominent, palpable, ge gral fact, proving, as do hundreds of others of loc eral fact, proving, as do hundreds of others of local and less gharing character—proving beyond the possi-bility of doubt—that there exists in the North a deep, settled, wide-spread, controlling, resoluta, and reckless spirit of bestitty toward the South and Southern instispirit of hostitut toward the South and Southern institutiom—an aggressive and progressive hostility—
threatering room to become absentely universal and
overwhelming. We were teld four years ago that if
we could beat Fremont at that election, the Black Republican party, whose leading characteristic is nostility
to the South, would be done for—it would succumb,
never to rise again; that the South would be left at
peace, and the Union be safe. Fremont was beaten.
And what see we now? This hostite party stronger
than ever, more hostile than ever, more audacious,
more venonous, more pestilent, more confident, and
actually electing its President of the United States in
the year P60. It will be stronger in 1854 than it is
in 1800. Now, Sirs, we of the South consider—and we
may rightfully consider—this proven, and growing and
already nearly universal, spirit of hostility toward us
on the part of the North, good, sufficient, and imperious cause for the immediate separation of these States.
In four years more, matters will be worse than they
are now, and precentle secession will be more difficult. In four years more, matters will be worse than they are now, and peaceable soccasion will be more distinct. It is not the legal and constitutional fact of Mr. Lincoln's election which stands the real cause of our movement. We find the real cause is that deliberate, determined bestility of which that election is the illustration and proof. The very legality and constitutionality of Mr. Lincoln's election are highly aggravating circumstance in favor of the Scathern view which I am now presenting.

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stord alone in the world, the South might have to succumb to superior, power; for what could we expect from your unaided justice, moderation, and comity as an independent sovereign State and neighbor, after our experience of the little trust to be placed in you as brothers in a friendly confederacy? But discretion we hope would come to the aid of your valor under the circumstances alluded to. For though we would have no armies and navies to punish your aggressions, by invading your territory and laying waste your coaste, a gracious Providence, classical brether, in the distribution of his favors, has given that to us, which will purchase, which will insure, which enables us to command for our support the armies and naviesagainst yourselves and whoever else may give as cause of war—of the first navaland military Powers of the world. England would be prompt to detach herself from all connection with the Northern Confederacy, and form an alliance offensive and defensive with us, the cotton-growing Slave States of the South. If you amoy said pester us in the manner indicated above, and as you have done during the last thirty years, England at our instance will gladly panish you. England and France will gladly buy from us, at full price, all the cetten we can make, under treaties favoring them and disadvantageous to you. Wee to the North! Directly from Southern ports to her own. Wee to the North! Directly from Southern ports to her own. Wee to the North! I rou give us cause of umbrage on our frontiers, we will denarch ware on you, with England would ask no better service than to sweep from ocean the slips of her late formidable commercial rival, ruining her trade with South America, with England would gadly butter down, Londard, and burn everything within two miles of shore, from Philadelphia to Nova Sootia. Wee to the North! And when Battish gens shall be in the last, we of the South will thirt his vox et pretered

two miles of shore, from Philadelphia to Nova Scotia. We to the North! And when listish gons shall be trondering along his coast, and his towns shall be trondering along his coast, and his towns shall be in figure, we of the South will flirt his vox et pretered nomini—back into the face of our very classical brother of Boeton. And then it will be an turn to smile. We shall vant no more, ex-brethers of Now-Empland, of your fin-paus and calicoes, of you wend on cotton, as want you will, you must come for it, as you go to chin for tea—silver in hand—ready to pay even pound for jound, if we choose to require it. Shell out your eash, your gold and silver, ex-brethers of the North! We had of your fraternal lead and steel, a year ago, in John Brown's pikes and bullets. You'll be more charry, we lope, of those bases metals in future.

Talk not, then, men of the North, of our defenceless condition at the South—of our dependence—past, present, or future on Northern power, whether of ships, or nen, or money, for the postection of our fields and our coasts. No! It is rathen your own fields, and homes, and coasts that have been, protected by us! Yes, yes, yes, by us! How many knotty, difficult, and doubtful questions with the United States, during the last forty years, has England cettled only just before a reject by us to the wittens rathe? And how many more has the infraince from raising, constrained by her relitatines to demance trade and interrupt her receipt of Southern cetten? Bow many? Count and tell us, if you are. And what was the cause of such satisfactory settle ment but that which I as ign? Yes, bypocritical and ungrateful Mussachusetts, you that nullify laws of Congress made for the security of Southern slaveholders, and manufacture rites and pikes to massacre them. It was those very Southern slaveholders—it was the argument of colloss, more than the argument of your great Webster, more than our essential right in the matter, that settled so favorably for you the North-Eastern Boundary Question. Have you ever f your eyes over the Slave States of the South. What see you there? The whole population in violent ferment. Deep, intense, angry and rapidly increasing excitement pervades all the Southern States. Disappointed politicians, rabid Democrats, discontinued notoriety-seckers, ambitious and reckless demagogues, function of the secondary and reckless demagogues, function of the propagate in favor of the Southern view which I am now presenting.

Again, Sire: take from me this illustrative fathle southern States. Disappointed politicians, rabid Democrats, discontinued notoriety-seckers, ambitious and reckless demagogues, function of the secondary and engaged and enflictent cause for the fact of architecture of Mr. Lincolo as good and enflictent cause for the fact of a right and daty at the South to hold the election of the fact of Northern power that dictated England's, concessions on that occasion? Heavill that it was fear of Northern power that dictated England's, concessions on that occasion? Heavill that it was fear of Northern power that dictated England's, concessions on that occasion? Heavill the Southern States and Frontierned Translations and the Southern States and States are the election of the secondary and provided to yourself that it was fear of Northern power that dictated England's, concessions on that occasion? Heavill the Southern States are take from me this illustrative fathle search to hold the election of the content of Mr. Lincolo as good and enflictent cause for the flower of the Southern States. Disappointed politicians, rabid Democrats, discontinued in the Southern States. Disappointed to yourself that it was fear of Northern power that the south the close through the provided to yourself that it was fear of Northern power that the south the close through the provided to yourself that it was fear of Northern power that the south the close through the provided to yourself that it was fear of Northern power that the south the close through the provided to yourself that it was fear of Northern powe

cheaper than you—ha! Hut we believe you will have learned wisdom, at least discretion, by that time; that you will know how to behave yourselves, and live at peace with us.

This is a mortifying and humble condition of national dependence, you will say, that I have been picturing for the proud and high-strung men of the Southern Confederacy, under the wing of England. So is is —no it is, men of the North! My heart was bleeding while I drew it. There was no merriment in my pleasantry a moment go. The proud pariots of the South, while enjoying the case, comfort, and increased wealth which will assuredly accrue to them after the first annovances and trouble of political, social, and commercial disruption shall have passed away, in the bitterness of their hearts, as they sit alone, and think of our past history, and contemplate the degredation of America, will curse your for having made it necessary. And you will curse yourselves; but too late! Ab! we would greatly prefer the glovious national career together, which is certainly ours, if we choose to run it. The year Ninetcen Hundred would see us, assuredly—and far ahead—the foremost empire of the earth. We could dictate law to the world. We could make and unmake at will, the Law of Nations in our Capitol at Washington. Would to God that you would now, men of the North, while it is yet time, return to a just comprehension and faithful observance toward us of the South, of the Constitution of our fathers! Why will you not? Why will you ask us more than your fathers asked, more than our fathers gave, more than we can give? Oh, come back! come back brothers of the North! and let us carry together the American name, and American power, for our own glory and the world's regeneration, to that peerless high which the eye of prophecy has hardly yet discerned! But you will not. I know you will not. God has letermined to destroy us, and he has made us made.

Persist, then, dranded men, to our own glory and the world's regeneration, to that peerless high which the events of M

nothing that will induce other nations to seek year albance, or bear you good will. On the contrary, your commercial and manufacturing capacities are considerable. Their development—if the simulations development of ultra Democracy, harrying you to marchy, does not prevent—will procupe for you a certain degree of prosperity; but will se the same time produce frequent of his one of interest with the greater Powers, which, as intimated above, you will lack the physical strength to have settled satisfactorily for yourselves. We of the South will possess a weak, but protected and saternationally. No foreign nation, not even yourselves, will find their interest in our misfortune; their good in our exil. On the contary, the case, comfort, and presperity of all other nations, great and small, will depend, in a great measure, upon the case, comfort, and presperity of our Southern Confederacy, of the slavehability, cotten-growing States of the South; and, thanks to our jeculiar institution, which you hold in such holy horror, ye deluded men of the North! we of the South will have nothing to fear from the popular turnoil, extravagance, and confusion, leading to license, ending in snarchy, which are inevitably before you; due, in a not distant future, to the normal natural development of the democratic elements in your midsi. Wee, woe, to the North! Why, sirs, the principle of constitutional republican government, assurance of the rights of person and property, lawand order, stability of society upon its for damannal principles, the fact of self-govtional republican government, assurance of the rights of person and property, havand order, stability of section of person and property, havand order, stability of section of person and section of the fact of self-government by a free, presperous and safe people, will sur-